

SOCIALIST WORLD

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SOCIALISM AND UNIONISM

Adopted by National Convention Socialist Party, May 1923

Political action and industrial action are equally necessary in the struggle for improvement of the conditions of the working class, and for its ultimate emancipation. Neither method is complete without the other. The activity of the labor unions and that of the working class party must be harmoniously coordinated in order that each may be brought to its highest efficiency. To promote such coordination is today one of the most important tasks of the Socialist Party.

It is the duty of the Socialist Party, its press, and its auxiliary institutions, to give whole-hearted support to the labor organizations in all their struggles for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, and in all their efforts to increase their membership, to maintain and enlarge their legal rights, and to spread a correct understanding of their purposes.

The Socialist Party has a right to ask of the labor unions the opportunity to reach their membership for the purpose of presenting its views upon subjects of interest to the working class as a whole. It has a right to ask them for cooperation and support in defending political liberty and civil rights. Experience shows that if these things are asked in a fraternal spirit they will not in the long run be refused.

It is neither the right nor the interest of the Socialist to attempt to dictate to the unions concerning their internal affairs nor to interfere in the jurisdictional and other disputes which sometimes unfortunately divide the labor movement. The only service it can render in this direction is to spread such knowledge and such a spirit as will tend to

lift these controversies above the level of personal and factional strife, and to promote their settlement on grounds of principle.

Every Socialist who is eligible to union membership ought to be within the ranks of Organized Labor. Every member of the Socialist Party who neglects this duty does injury to the Party as well as to the unions.

It is not enough for Socialist workingmen to hold formal union membership. It is their duty to distinguish themselves by activity, devotion, and good faith within the union as well as within the Party. Their influence should be used, not only to strengthen the unions in their immediate struggles, but also to cultivate among the rank and file an ever deeper feeling of working-class solidarity, and an ever clearer understanding of economic principles. By these means they can best hasten the normal development of the American labor movement along the lines of a closer industrial organization, a broader outlook upon social questions, and a more far-reaching purpose than it has hitherto attained.

The Socialist Party specifically points out the error into which sincere, but too impatient Socialists; or persons reputed to be Socialists, have sometimes fallen, of seeking to capture the unions, or to force their own ideas upon them by schismatic organization within their ranks, and by factious attacks upon their leaders. These methods have seldom, if ever, yielded good results, and they have often done grave harm, both to the unions concerned, and to the Socialist Party. It is by convincing the rank and file, not by dividing them, nor by discrediting their officers, that progress is made.

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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by the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

EUGENE V. DEBS

After a long period of devoted and unselfish service to the workers of America, was rewarded by the Capitalist Courts placing him in prison.

After an imprisonment of three years had shattered his health the world saw this undaunted champion leave the prison with head erect, undaunted and undefeated to renew his fight against Capitalism for the freedom of the working class to which he belongs and to whom his life is dedicated.

Therefore be it resolved:

That the Delegates of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in New York extend to Eugene V. Debs our most sincere love and greetings; and

Be it further resolved; That we assure Comrade Eugene V. Debs that we rejoice that his health has been restored and that his invaluable services are again at the disposal of the Socialist Party and the working class in general.

His work is an inspiration to the Socialists of America, a work that will hasten the downfall of Capitalism and the ushering in of the cooperative commonwealth." Adopted.

LABOR EDUCATION

Whereas: The greatest need of the hour in the rank and file of the American Labor Movement is a more intelligent understanding of its history, aims, struggles and ideals, and a more informed and efficient leadership to guide and inspire it onward to ever greater conquests on the industrial, political, cooperative, and cultural fields; and

Whereas: A number of trade unions, central labor bodies and independent elements of the labor movement have made more or less successful attempts in the establishment of labor schools and colleges; and

Whereas: Efforts are now being made to organize, coordinate, and bring into active cooperation all these separate experiments so that greater efficiency may be attained in this work and more satisfying results achieved;

Be it Resolved: That the Socialist Party of America in Convention assembled extends its heartiest cooperation towards the proposed union of efforts in the wide and fruitful field of Labor Education, and furthermore stands pledged to contribute its resources in this work, not necessarily in the partisan spirit of Socialist propaganda, rather in the wider aim of helpfulness, to the end of enhancing the strength, confidence, clearheadedness, leadership and morale of a truly progressive American Labor Movement.

THE NEGRO WORKERS

The National Convention of the Socialist Party records its hearty appreciation of the Negro Socialists who are doing so much to awaken the Negro workers to a knowledge of Socialism. The Convention commends to the earnest consideration of all white wage workers the necessity of cooperation with the Negro workers, encouraging their organization in labor unions, and breaking down the prejudices that still survive.

Not until the white worker recognizes that the Negro worker is a part of the wage working class, and has problems similar to his, will the Socialist movement and the trade unions acquire the power and influence that should be theirs. Every tendency that promotes sympathy and mutual understanding between the Negro and white workers must be encouraged for the purpose of strengthening the labor movement itself.

Above all, the white wage workers should wage an unrelenting warfare of education against such bigoted and reactionary movements as the Ku Klux Klan, which aim to make of the Negro people a race of serfs, to be perpetually exploited by a white ruling class. Our Negro brothers are the special victims of Klannism. Their fathers had a terrible experience with this brutal and ignorant organized prejudice against color. This reactionary movement against the Negro worker is equally dangerous to the white worker and both have a common cause against it.

The Convention especially commends the organ of the Negro Socialists, the Messenger, as a scholarly publication of great value in educating Negro workers, and fitting them to cope with the problems that bear with peculiar harshness on all Negro workers. The Convention urges the white comrades to aid our Negro comrades in extending the circulation and influence of the Messenger so that its service to the cause of emancipation may be increased many fold.

REPLY TO THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Mr. J. G. Brown, Secretary,
Farmer Labor Party of the U. S.,
166 W. Washington St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The National Convention of the Socialist Party has earnestly considered the invitation extended by the Farmer-Labor Party to the Socialist Party and other organizations of workers to attend a national conference in Chicago, beginning July 3, to discuss "such steps as may be necessary to bring about complete unity of the political forces of the entire working class."

The Socialist Party fully agrees with the Farmer-Labor Party as to the desirability of uniting the workers on the political field. The only question is how soon and by what means this end can best be attained.

A necessary condition to the establishment of a really powerful political party of the working class is the active support of at least a majority of the great trade unions. Unless there is assurance that this support is now obtainable, any attempt at this time to effect the proposed "unity of the political forces of the entire working class" would result in disappointment.

Is there reason to believe that a sufficient number of powerful national and international unions favor independent political action at the present time? We wish that we could answer this question in the affirmative. Candor compels

us to admit that, while there are evidences of widespread discontent with the parties of capitalism within the ranks of Organized Labor, comparatively few of the great unions are yet ready to take the decisive step of launching a working-class party on a national scale.

We are convinced that working-class opinion is fast evolving in this direction, influenced thereto by the logic of events as well as by the arguments of those who already advocate independent political action. We think, however, that it would be a mistake to force the issue prematurely, or to take such action as might give a delusive appearance of political unity of the whole working class without the reality.

The Socialist Party has decided to continue its affiliation with the Conference for Progressive Political Action. It believes that by working through state conferences called by that body, where the views of local labor organizations in each state will be directly represented, it will at the present juncture best advance the cause of working-class unity on the political field.

For these reasons the National Convention of the Socialist Party declines the proffered invitation to the Chicago Conference.

With fraternal greetings, we are

(Signed) *Wm. H. Henry*
Algernon Lee
James Oneal
Committee.

SOVIET RUSSIA

The Socialist Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, reaffirms its position in favor of the recognition of the Russian Government. The Russian revolution overthrew the most cruel and despotic government of modern times. If the revolution accomplished nothing else, its achievement in this respect will always be glorious in the long struggle of the working class.

Despite differences that have arisen with the Communist International it is to the credit of the Socialist and Labor parties of the world that they continue to demand the recognition of the Soviet Government. Any other position would be to range working class organizations with czarists and imperialists. These enemies of the Soviet Government cannot be our friends. They are our enemies as well.

Differences in working class organizations never justify support of the common enemy. To do so

would be to repudiate the class solidarity which inspires intelligent working class action. For these reasons the Socialist Party again records its demand for the recognition of Soviet Russia. It hopes that relations with Russia will soon be resumed, and that through trade and commerce with the rest of the world millions of suffering men, women, and children in Russia will be relieved.

RECOGNITION OF MEXICO

Whereas: The Government of the United States has continuously refused to recognize the present government of Mexico; and

Whereas: Certain financial and oil interests in this country are maintaining an aggressive propaganda and campaign in favor of the intervention of the United States in Mexico; and

Whereas: The Mexican people for the first time in their history have established a government, which is primarily interested in the economic welfare of the working masses; therefore

Be it Resolved: That we, the Socialist Party, in National Convention assembled in the City of New York on the 21st day of May 1923, demand the official recognition of the Mexican government by the United States; and

Be it Further Resolved: That we urge all local organizations of the Party, as well as all sympathetic organizations, to take advantage of every opportunity to urge recognition of Mexico by the United States.

THE FASCISTI

Whereas: The Fascisti of Italy, through force and violence of the worst form, have almost destroyed all that the Socialists, Labor and Liberals have built in the thirty years of hard and faithful labor for the workers of that country; and

Whereas: The Fascisti menace, encouraged and helped by the capitalists of all countries, is spreading to other lands; and

Whereas: In the City of New York, an Anti-Fascisti Alliance has been formed under the auspices of the Italian Chamber of Labor; be it

Resolved: That this Convention of the Socialist Party endorses the work of the Anti-Fascisti Alliance; and be it further

Resolved: That the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party request every local affiliated with it to cooperate and assist in the work of informing the American public and the American Labor Movement of the nefarious work of the Fascisti, and as to the best means of preventing the spread of anti-social forces in this country.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Whereas: More than fifty persons, indicted under wartime legislation, and convicted in the heat of jingoistic hysteria, are still languishing in prison cells; and

Whereas: The court records show these men are guilty of no active violence against life or property, but are being held solely for expression of opinion; and

Whereas: In the case of U. S. vs. Hammerschmidt, et al, twelve defendants now awaiting final judgment by the U. S. Supreme Court, although five years have passed since the World War, these twelve defendants being the victims solely of anti-war opinion, are still facing the prison bars; and

Whereas: The political prisoners who have been released have not been restored to full rights of citizenship; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, the Socialist Party members, in Convention assembled, demand the immediate and unconditional amnesty of all wartime prisoners, both civil and military, and that we de-

clare the action of President Harding and his associates to be in direct violation of all historic precedence, as well as an offense to present day sense of decency and justice; and be it further

Resolved: That we demand that the release of these political and military prisoners shall carry with it full amnesty in the restoration of all citizenship rights held by the prisoners before conviction; and be it also

Resolved: That we demand the dismissal of the case against Hammerschmidt et al, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

SOCIALIST PRISONERS IN RUSSIA

Whereas: The Soviet Government of Russia has imprisoned thousands of members of non-Bolshevik working class organizations many of them having rendered heroic service against czarism and even against the Allied Interventionists and czarist generals; and

Whereas: This policy of repressing other organizations of the working class embarrasses our work for the release of our own political and class war prisoners, and even erects barriers against recognition of the Soviet Government itself; therefore

Be it resolved: That the Socialist Party of the United States, which has always opposed efforts of the Allied Powers to intervene in Russia, and whose activity in behalf of Russian recognition gives us the right to criticize and advise the Russian Government protests against this policy of political persecution, and urges the Soviet Government to abandon it as injurious to itself and to the workers of all countries.

INDUSTRIAL PRISONERS

Whereas: Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings in California, convicted under perjured evidence, and later proven beyond the shadow of a doubt innocent of the charge for which they are still held behind prison bars, for a period of more than six years, and inasmuch as no technical legal procedure has been found to provide for the release of these men; be it therefore

Resolved: That we demand of the Governor of California that Mooney and Billings be at once released with all citizenship rights restored, and their cases be dismissed from the Courts of California.

Whereas: Sacco and Vanzetti of Massachusetts have also been convicted as a result of capitalistic frame-ups; be it therefore

Resolved: That we demand the release of Sacco and Vanzetti and call for the dismissal of their case from the courts of Massachusetts.

SYNDICALIST LAWS

Whereas: There are a number of states in the Union, notably California and Michigan, Washington and Pennsylvania, in which a Criminal Syndicalist Law provides opportunity for the most vicious prosecution and persecution of the workers in the industrial and political movements, and scores of our fellow workers and comrades are serving time in state prisons, convicted under these laws, oftentimes by juries that were unquestionable prejudiced or terrorized into rendering a verdict pleasing to the capitalistic interests;

Be it Resolved: That the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, pledge its support to all organizations and bodies in their effort to remove these laws from the States where they now exist; and further

Be it Resolved: That all these aforesaid issues be taken up by the Socialist Party Locals and comrades all over the nation, and given the widest publicity to the end that innocent men imprisoned under wartime hysteria and a class war persecution may be freed, and laws inimical to the rights of organized labor and the interests of the working class may be blotted off our State and National Law Books.

OPEN SHOP

The drive for the so called open shop (which really means the non union shop) is again being resumed, after a momentary defeat.

Great combinations of capitalists are undertaking a determined campaign for the destruction of organized labor. They have millions to spend on hiring thugs, spies, and disruptionists, and in subsidizing a widespread anti-union propaganda. They can afford to lose millions in present profits, if thereby they can assure thousands of cheap and submissive labor in the years to come.

These exploiters care no more for the interests of the public than for the welfare of their own employees. They do not scruple to paralyze whole industries, to throw multitudes of producers out of work, to hold up building and curtail the output of food, clothing and all necessities of life, regardless of the loss and misery they inflict not only upon the wage workers and their wives and children, but also upon the working farmers and other large classes.

The fight threatens to be a long and bitter one. Prompt, united, and unflinching resistance is Labor's only hope. The Socialist Party must and will join in that resistance with all the forces at its disposal.

The National Executive Committee is instructed

to proceed without delay to the preparation and publication of a series of leaflets, pamphlets and small books treating in a popular yet scientific manner, with economics and labor questions, and suited to be used in systematic propaganda and educational work, particularly among the organized workmen of the whole country.

WEST VIRGINIA

Whereas: In the State of West Virginia the public officials in the mining districts have suppressed all rights of free speech, free press, and freedom of assemblage; and

Whereas: The coal mining companies are employing armed guards, thugs, and mercenaries of the lowest order, in order to prevent the United Mine Workers from organizing the workers in the state of West Va.

Therefore be it Resolved: That we, the Socialist Party, in National Convention assembled at New York on this 22nd day of May 1923, protest most vigorously against the conduct of the public officials of W. Va., and demand that the constitutional guarantees be restored to the workers in that State; and

Be it Further Resolved: That we express our profound sympathy with the United Mine Workers in their fight to establish a decent standard of living in West, Va.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Convention of the Socialist Party notes with pleasure the attempts made by workers in different parts of the country to establish a cooperative movement, and urges the comrades everywhere to initiate the work of organizing workingclass cooperatives, and assisting those already in existence.

In going thus on record in favor of cooperative enterprise the Party is not unmindful of the possible danger of over-emphasizing its importance at the expense of other branches of the labor movement. It is also cognizant of the fact that in some instances the commercial nature of the undertaking may have a tendency to weaken the fighting spirit of the economic organization bound up with it.

It is therefore all the more urgent that the class conscious workers take an active part in the work of the cooperatives and guard jealously against the possible pitfalls. As a general rule however, it is the opinion of the delegates of this Convention that the benefits of the cooperative movement are not only in the material relief that may be gained by the workers in utilizing their purchasing power, but also in training and preparing the working class ultimately to assume control over the industries and run them in the interest of the people.

THE COAL MINING SITUATION

Whereas: One of the richest of the natural resources of this country lies in the immense deposits of coal veins scattered throughout some thirty states of the Union; and

Whereas: This natural wealth has been permitted to become the object of reckless and wasteful exploitation and spoliation through its private ownership and manipulation; and

Whereas: The predatory interests of the owners of our coal field have compelled the consumers of this land to render them enormous tribute in the form of huge profits, not only for serviceable coal; but often for common dirt, rock and slate; and

Whereas: The most shameful feature of this whole sordid business is displayed in the brutal and despotic treatment of hundreds of thousands of miners, whose living conditions are often pitiful in their merciless poverty and slavery under the absolute domination of their feudal lords—the mine-owners in many parts of the country;

Be it Resolved: That the Socialist Party of America, in National Convention assembled, proposes the nationalization of the coal resources of the United States, and substituting thereby collective enterprise and true public service as the sole aim of

mining operations, instead of private gain and the accumulation of immense wealth in the possession of a few; and furthermore

Be it Resolved: That we extend our congratulations to the United Mine Workers of America in their heroic struggles against their unscrupulous masters, and that we rejoice with them in their hard earned victories in improved working and living conditions. The Socialist Party of America pledges in the future the same support it has given the miners in their many battles in past years, and it urges them not only to propagate the proposal for the nationalization in their industry but also to carry on such education in their ranks that will inspire a self reliance and a determination to be prepared to take over the management and operation of the mines in the event of their nationalization to the end that greater efficiency will follow and direct benefits will be attained by the miners and their families and the people of the United States.

Resolved: That we recommend that the National Executive Committee issue leaflets in support of the Railroad and Mine Workers, for the National ownership and democratic management of their respective industries .

REPLY TO THE WORKERS PARTY

A communication of the Workers Party, addressed to the national convention of the Socialist Party proposes the organization of a "united front" This coalition is proposed in order to promote:

1. Amalgamation of the trade unions;
2. To protect foreign born workers;
3. To repudiate the Vienna Union, the Amsterdam International of Trade unions, and the Second International;
4. To support the recognition of Soviet Russia;
5. To remove certain governmental obstacles hindering the struggle of the workers;
6. To bring about a nation-wide Labor Party.

After a careful consideration of this proposal the national convention of the Socialist Party resolves to send the following answer to the Workers' Party:

It is our earnest conviction that if the Communists had urged organizations of the working class to form a united front at the end of the World War, "regardless of political differences," as the Workers Party now urges, this front would have been established five years ago. Instead of this policy, the Communist International pursued a deliberate

policy of division. It ordered splits in every country. It sowed hatreds and dissensions among the working class. It destroyed all possibility of solidarity of the workers in each nation. It brought civil war into the organizations of the workers.

This policy was all the more criminal considering that the allied ruling classes were consolidating the loot of the imperialist war. This policy was continued down to so recent a period as one year ago. It was continued even while the ruling classes were making assaults upon all organizations of the workers. The result was pessimism, weakness, and even prostration before the capitalist enemy.

Having split the organizations of the workers until no more splits were possible, the Communist International then adopted the slogan of the "united front." It agreed to meet with the Second International and the Vienna Union in Berlin, April, 1922. The negotiations failed to effect a "united front." Even before the conference met in Berlin, the Executive Committee of the Third International, in a meeting held the previous December, formula-

ted a document defining what Communists mean by the "united front."

In this statement no secret was made of the Communists' intention to stifle us and poison us in their embrace. One paragraph of this document of the Communist International read:

"Comrades of the Third International, there is a movement on foot in Europe for a united front. It does not matter whether we are in favor of it or not; our tactics compel us to *appear to be in favor of it*; but we ask the Communist sections all over Europe to take part in the creation of the united front, *not for the purpose of making it effective*, but for the purpose of *strengthening the Communists* through direct propaganda inside organizations taking part in the movement."

Here we have an authoritative statement of the highest body in the Communist International defining what Communists mean by a "united Front." It is a notorious fact that Communists in all countries carry out instructions from Moscow. It is also a matter of common knowledge that Radek, in a letter written before the meeting of the Berlin Conference, confirmed this interpretation of the "united front." In that letter he said that the proposal was only a "tactical manoeuvre" to carry the methods of Communists into other organizations of the workers.

There is no reason for us believing that the proposal of the Workers Party is not of the same character. Nor can we believe that it is any more honest. It is couched in language similar to the pleas which the Communist International made prior to the meeting of the Berlin Conference.

There are other reasons for believing that the proposal is dishonest. If the Workers Party is sincere in what its speakers and publications have said and are saying about the Socialist Party, then the members of that party are guilty of gross misconduct in seeking to associate themselves with us. If the Socialist Party is not what they have said and continued to say it is, then the Workers Party is guilty of deliberate falsehoods and is unworthy of consideration.

The reason for its frantic attempts to be associated with us is not a mystery. It has weakened other organizations but it has not developed any strength of its own. Five years of Communist wrecking methods have left the Workers Party with a smaller membership than all Communist organization had in 1919. Its English-speaking membership in the United States, as reported by one of its prominent members Israel Amter, in the International Press Correspondence (Berlin), issue of April 19, 1923, is only a little over 1500. There is the further fact

that the Workers Party today has not, after five years of Communist agitation, established a political standing for itself in a single city of this country.

These are the reasons why it eagerly seeks to conceal its failure and weakness by attaching itself to the Socialist Party in some sort of a political coalition.

As for the other matters mentioned in this proposal, the Socialist Party always has, to the full extent of its resources, presented and defended the interests of the working class. It will continue to do so. It has claimed recognition for Russia as well. It is content to go its way, confident that the fate awaiting all Communist organizations is what they have justly earned. We shall strive for a real "united front," not one based on dishonest motives or secret aims. We believe in a unity that unites, not one that divides.

For these reasons we are compelled to reject the proposal contained in the communication of the Workers Party.

THE FORWARD, THE CALL AND THE LEADER

The National Convention of the Socialist Party, aware of the importance and value to the workers of daily publications representing the claims of the working class, hereby records its appreciation of the long services rendered to the Jewish workers by the Daily Forwards, and to the English-speaking workers by the Daily Call, and the Milwaukee Leader.

The Convention also records its appreciation of the militant attitude of the Call in behalf of the Socialist Party and the trade union struggles, and its improved character during the past few months. The Convention is happy to learn that the trade union organizations are more and more coming to the support of The Call, financially and otherwise, and it looks forward to the day when The Call will be a great and powerful metropolitan daily, as well as an inspiration to other daily Socialist papers to be published in other parts of the country.

Minutes of the N. E. C. Meeting in New York following the Convention and other important matter omitted from this issue will be published in the July number.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE To The National Convention, New York City, May 19-22, 1923

The minutes of all meetings of the committee and all business transacted by correspondence had been published from month to month in the *Socialist World*, and should be familiar to all of the convention delegates. Under these circumstances, the committee feels that a very brief summary of the more important actions of the committee during the past year is all that is required in the form of a report at this time.

International Relations

In accordance with the action taken by the last convention, the Socialist Party of America applied for and was admitted to membership in the International Working Union of Socialist parties. Comrades Hillquit, Berger and Lee were elected International delegates to attend an International Congress which had been called to meet in August, 1922.

This Congress was postponed after Comrade Lee had already sailed. A report of Comrade Lee's observations upon the European situation was printed in the October issue of the *Socialist World*.

All attempts of the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties to arrange an International Conference, to be participated in by the Second International, the International Working Union of Socialist Parties and the Communist International have failed, but a Congress consisting of the Socialist parties affiliated with the Second International and the Vienna Union, as well as a number of independent parties, has been called, to meet at Hamburg on May 21st. The National Executive Committee has issued credentials to Comrades Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Jacob Panken and Morris Ber- man to attend this congress as delegates from our organization. Just prior to the convening of the Hamburg Congress on May 21st, an International Socialist Women's Congress will meet at Hamburg, for which credentials have been issued to Comrades Mrs. Berger and Mrs. Hillquit.

Conference for Progressive Political Action

The delegates are familiar with the situation regarding the Conference for Progressive Political Action. A meeting of this Conference was held in Cleveland in December, 1922, of which a report was published in the December issue of the *Socialist World*.

This being an off year, no particular activities have been undertaken by the Conference, but an-

other meeting has been called for December, at which time the Conference will consider the advisability of calling a National Convention early in 1924, for the purpose of nominating Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates on a National Labor ticket. The whole question of our continued relations with the conference is before this Convention in the form of Agenda motions.

Amnesty

All Socialist Party political prisoners have been released, but we have continued our agitation for the release of all prisoners thru special press services and a large number of articles in the *Socialist World*, while Comrade Debs in all his meetings makes a special plea for the political prisoners.

Russian Relief Fund

The Russian Relief Fund was closed last October with expenditure of all funds which had been collected to that date. The total receipts for this fund amounted to \$6,453.18, and the expenditures were as follows:

New York Call fund	\$2,000.00
Wm. Eisenstadt, 2 carloads soap	3,937.50
American Friends Service Committee ..	515.68

The two carloads of soap consisted of two purchases of 25,000 pounds each. The first shipment was delivered direct to the Soviet representatives at Reval, and the second to the Distributing Agents of the Friend Service Committee.

The Headquarters Property

In accordance with the motion adopted by the last National Convention, authorizing the sale of the Headquarters property at the discretion of the Committee, the property was sold last October, to William K. Pflaum, representing the Milk Wagon Drivers Union of Chicago. The price received was \$36,375; expenses in connection with the sale were \$1056, making a net price of \$35,319. The property originally cost the party \$25,000. The transaction, therefore, shows a net profit of something over \$10,000. An itemized statement of this transaction was published in the *Socialist World* for October of last year. The headquarters are now established at 2418 West Madison St., rental of which is \$135 a month. While the quarters are not entirely satisfactory, they are adequate for the present needs of the organization.

Membership

The actual dues paying membership has remained stationary during the past year but the general interest and activity in the Party Branches has increased considerably within the past six months.

The average monthly membership for the year ending December 31 was 11,019, and for the year ending April 30, 11,084, while the average membership for the first four months of this year was 12,474.

Following is a tabulation of the membership by English and foreign language branches for the year ending April 30th

Membership from April, 1922 to May, 1923

	English	Federation	Total
May	7824	3521	11345
June	6741	4094	10835
July	5249	4451	9700
August	5853	3345	9198
September	5421	5420	10841
October	8209	5890	14099
November	4645	2075	6720
December	4966	8411	13377
January	9811	3821	13632
February	6342	5863	12205
March	6246	5723	11969
April	6096	5995	12091
Average Membership 12 Month	6450	4634	11084
Average Membership last 4 Months	7124	5350	12474

The Debs Meetings

The delegates are familiar with the fact that Comrade Debs is now engaged in a speaking tour of the larger cities of the East, which is proving highly successful in all respects. Tremendous crowds are present at every meeting, and thousands are unable to gain admission. It is expected that the interest aroused at these meetings will result in strengthening the organization not only in the cities where the meetings are held, but in the country as a whole.

Comrade Debs has placed his speaking engagements in the hands of the National Office exclusively, and tentative plans have been made for speaking tours covering the remainder of the present year.

Y. P. S. L. and Federations

The Young Peoples Socialist League has made gratifying progress during the past year, and the committee recommends that the Convention and

the incoming committee continue the policy of rendering them every possible assistance and co-operation in their work.

The Language Federations have been affected in the same manner and to about the same extent as the Party by the conditions existing during the past five years, but there is a noticeable improvement in their reports for the first four months of this year, and they will no doubt keep pace with the growth of the Party that is now commencing.

Individual reports will be submitted to the Convention by the Secretaries of the Y. P. S. L. and the respective Federations.

Finances

On the first of the year the expenses of the National Office were reduced to a minimum, and for the first time in a number of years the receipts have exceeded the expenses, and some progress is being made towards reducing the indebtedness of the National Office.

On December 31st, we had a cash balance of \$271.00 (exclusive of \$7500.00 in the Building Fund) and an indebtedness of \$8096.32.

On May 15th, we had a cash balance of \$1341.00 (exclusive of \$5000.00 in the Building Fund) and an indebtedness of \$4896.90.

We had reduced our indebtedness by \$3200.00 and increased our cash balance by \$1069.00, making a total of \$4269.00. Deducting from this amount an additional loan of \$2500.00 from the Building Fund leaves a net gain of \$1769 since the first of the year.

Our present indebtedness, exclusive of \$5000.00 borrowed from the Building Fund, amounts to \$4896.90 as follows:

Accrued Accounts	\$1237.66
Accrued Conv. Ex. 1921	202.24
Notes Payable	3057.00
Loans	400.00
	<hr/>
	\$4896.90

Organization and Propaganda

The elections this year are of minor importance, and the entire energy of the Party should be devoted to rebuilding the organization in preparation for the campaign of 1924. The reduction of the Party indebtedness, the reviving interest and enthusiasm noticeable throughout the movement and the improvement in Comrade Debs' health, which permits of extended lecture tours, offers a particularly favorable opportunity for Party building.

This is the most important matter before the Convention, and your Committee is satisfied what a

systematic, aggressive campaign this year will result not only in a greatly increased membership, but in a more united, harmonious and aggressive organization than we have ever had. The one all-important question before this Convention is that of *Organization*.

Fraternally submitted.

National Executive Committee:

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

COMMITTEE ON THE Y. P. S. L.

The committee believes with the management of the Young Peoples Socialist League, that all par. members under 26 years of age should be compelled to join the Young People League, with only the additional obligation of paying the local dues to the Y. P. S. L.

The committee also believes that a certain percentage of the \$40,000 fund should be given to the Y. P. S. L. For the purpose of discussion the committee suggests the amount should be at least ten per cent.

MINUTES OF THE CONVENTION

Saturday, May 19, 1923
Morning Session

Convention was opened by Comrade David Heertje of New York, who introduced National Secretary Branstetter. The National Secretary called the roll of delegates as certified by the State Secretaries. Those of the accredited delegates present were declared seated, and authorized to proceed with the business of the Convention.

The nominations for Chairman being next in order, the following were nominated: Lee of New York, and Hoan of Wisconsin. Hoan declined. Lee elected by acclamation. Hoan elected Vice-Chairman.

National Secretary Branstetter read the proposed Rules for the Convention. Proposed by the National Executive Committee. Hoan of Wisconsin offered the following amendment to Rule 12: "To strike out the words 'unanimous consent,' and substitute the words 'vote of Convention.'" The amendment was accepted, and the rules were adopted as amended.

The following committees were then nominated:

Committee on Constitutional Amendments: Emil Herman of Minnesota, Birch Wilson of Pennsylvania, Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, (declined), Daniel Hoan of Wisconsin, William Karlin of New York, Richman of District of Columbia. The above, with the exception of Sharts, who declined, were elected as the Committee.

Committee on Resolutions: Henry of Indiana (declined), Harkins of New Jersey, Oneal of New York, Lena Morrow Lewis of California, Claessens of New York, Boyd of Massachusetts (declined), Lee of New York (declined), Van Essen of Pennsylvania (declined), Alexander Kahn of New York (nomination withdrawn on account of absence of delegate), Weeks of New Jersey. The above, with the exception of declinations and withdrawal, were elected as the Committee.

Lilith Wilson, alternate, was seated in place of delegate Sehl of Pennsylvania.

Thomas Nicholson, alternate, was seated in place of S. F. Holmes, delegate from the New England district.

Committee on Organization, Propaganda and Finance: Sharts of Ohio, Melms of Wisconsin, Warshow of New York, Boyd of Massachusetts, Wilson of Pennsylvania (declined), Krah of Connecticut, Toole of Maryland, Kahn of the Jewish Verband, Kennedy of Utah, Snow

of Illinois, Lieberman of New York, Stark of Pennsylvania (declined).

The vote on above was postponed, and the Convention listened to an address by Comrade Cahan, Editor of the Jewish Forward.

Credentials were read by the Secretary, and the following delegates were seated as fraternal delegates from the American Labor Party: Jerome T. DeHunt, Abraham Lefkowitz, Salcatore Ninfo, and Marie B. McDonald, alternate.

The following were seated as delegates to the Conference: Hugo Ernst from California, W. L. Webster from Ohio. Delegate Arkin was seated as fraternal delegate from the New England Section of the Jewish Socialist Verband. Morris Noyak and Harry Bordman were seated as fraternal delegates from the Young People Socialist League.

The election of Committees resumed.

The following were elected as the *Committee on Organization, Propaganda and Finance:* Sharts of Ohio, Melms of Wisconsin, Boyd of Massachusetts, Toole of Maryland, Kahn of the Jewish Verband, Kennedy of Utah, Snow of Illinois.

The Convention voted to seat Gillis, alternate of New York, instead of delegate Warshow who had not yet arrived.

The following were elected as the *Committee on Economic Organization:* McLevy of Connecticut, Van Essen of Pennsylvania, Lee of New York, Shiplacoff of New York, Bohlin of New Jersey.

The Chairman ruled that fraternal delegates are not eligible to membership on Committees.

The following were elected as the *Committee on Party Press:* King of California, Lilith Wilson of Pennsylvania, Quinlan of New York, Webster of Ohio, Coolidge of Massachusetts.

The following telegram from Local Oakland, California, was read by the Secretary: *Comrade: Greetings from local Oakland Socialist Party. May your deliberations result in a constructive non-fusion program. We again reiterate our active opposition to fusion and compromise endorsing motion number two of the Agenda. California has lost many members due to the trading program of fusion the past two years.*

Fraternally

Elvira S. Beals, Florence Logan Johnson, Will C. Ayl-

worth, Herman Katz, Mrs. Daisy Cochran, Lin E. Beals, Dr. F. E. Reynolds.

Committee.

This telegram was referred to Committee on Constitutional Amendments.

The Secretary read the report of the National Executive Committee for the year just passed, and on motion the report was referred to the various committees. The reports of the Finnish Socialist Federation, the Jugo-Slav Federation, and the Italian Federation appear in the Socialist World, and were therefore not read.

Albert Weisbord, National Organizer of the Y. P. S. L. made a verbal report of the work and progress of the Yipsel movement for the past year.

Thobe of Kentucky wishes to be recorded as present.

The following amendment was made to the Agenda Motion under the heading of Organization Campaign: That \$7500, now held in the building fund, be repaid out of \$30,000 to be raised. That the Convention consider the plan advisable, and instruct the Committee on Organization to work out the necessary details.

The Convention adjourned to meet again at 2:30.

SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1923

Afternoon Session

Chairman Lee called Convention to order at 2:30 P. M.

The Chairman called attention to the fact that Comrade Kahn, elected on the Organization Committee at the forenoon session, is a *fraternal* delegate, and as such not qualified to serve. Delegate Hoehn of Missouri was elected in his place.

A telegram of greetings was read to the Convention by the Secretary from Morris Kaufman, President of the International Fur Workers Union.

A letter from C. E. Ruthenberg, National Secretary of the Workers Party, inviting the Socialist Party to participate with the W. P. in the United Front was referred to the Committee on resolutions.

William V. Mahoney, of the Farmer-Labor Party of the District of Columbia was seated as a fraternal delegate.

Comrade Oneal, for the Committee on Resolutions, read a resolution recommending the endorsement by the Convention of the National Executive Committee resolution demanding the impeachment of Wm. Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. This resolution was passed unanimously, followed by tremendous applause.

On motion by Karlin of New York, Ben Howe and Pincus Hochstein were seated as fraternal delegates from the Farmer-Labor Party of the State of New York.

A prolonged discussion took place on Agenda motions (1) and (2) with amendments (a) and (b), under the heading "International Congress."

Vice-Chairman Dan Hean took the chair at 3:40.

An amendment was offered by Herman of Minnesota that in section (a) Motion No. 2, the word "repudiates" be stricken out, and the word "accepts" be substituted in its place; and the word "Burgfrieden" or "Social Peace" be stricken out, and the words "the Class Struggle" be substituted.

A motion was made by Lee of New York that the whole question be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to draft one adequate statement. The motion as made by Comrade Lee was passed, and the matter was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Convention took a recess to listen to an address by James Maurer of the National Executive Committee, and

President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weisbord reported having received an invitation from the Secretary of the Labor Youth International and the International Working Union of Young Socialists Organizations to attend their Congress, which takes place at Hamburg at the same time as the regular International Socialist Congress, and upon receipt of same he cabled Morris Hillquit to represent the Young People's Movement of America. He also asked that this Convention approve of this action, and a motion was made and passed that the action of the Y. P. S. L. of the United States in affiliating itself with the International Working Union of Young Socialist Organizations be approved.

Telegrams of greetings from the 18th and 20th A. D. and Israel Feinberg, General Manager Joint Board Cloak Skirt and Reefer Makers Union I. L. G. W. U., were read by the Secretary.

While the various committees were at work, the remainder of the Convention listened to addresses by the following fraternal delegates: Reivo of the Finnish Federation, Petrich of the Jugo Slav Federation.

On motion the Convention adjourned until Sunday, 10 A. M.

SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1923

Morning Session

Convention called to order at 10:30 A. M. by Delegate Lee, Chairman of the previous day, King of California elected Chairman for the Day. Delegates Sharts of Ohio, Karlin of New York, and Van Essen of Pennsylvania were nominated as Vice Chairman. Sharts and Van Essen declined, and Karlin was elected by acclamation.

A telegram of greetings was read from the Polish Socialist Workers of the Polish Daily of Chicago.

A telegram promising support to, and union with, the Socialist Party was read from the Furriers' Welfare Club, Sam Cohen, Chairman.

James L. Smiley of Maryland was seated as a Conference delegate.

The Convention proceeded with an extended discussion of Motions 1 and 2, of the Agenda, under the heading "Conference for Progressive Political Action."

The discussion was interrupted by the Chairman, who read a telegram from the Socialist Party of Marion County, Indiana, in which the Convention was asked to favor a National Socialist Weekly.

Mrs. Jokinen, alternate of Massachusetts, was seated in place of Delegate Hegeman.

Warshow of New York moved the previous question, which closed discussion on the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Dr. Van Essen then took the floor to make the closing argument against participation in this Conference, and Henry of Indiana in favor of participating.

A motion was offered by Toole of Maryland that Motion No. 1 be separated. Shiplacoff of New York stated that as the motion had been discussed as a whole it would be out of order to separate it. His point was upheld by the Chairman, whose decision was appealed from.

Vice Chairman Karlin took the floor. Toole explaining his appeal, and the Chairman speaking for his decision. The Chairman was upheld by the Convention, and the question being put, Motion 1 carried by a vote of 38 to 12.

The Convention then adjourned until 2:30 P. M.

SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1923

Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order by Chairman King at 2:30 P. M.

Oneal of New York moved that the Convention postpone all business before it in order that he might read two resolutions, submitted by the Resolutions Committee, the first in reply to the invitation of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party to participate with them in the United Front, the second on the question of the recognition of Soviet Russia.

The first resolution declining the invitation of the Workers Party, as published elsewhere in this issue, was unanimously adopted.

The resolution on the recognition of Soviet Russia was amended by striking out the last paragraph. The amended resolution as published on Page... of this issue, was adopted.

Comrade Thomassen was seated as Conference Delegate of Pennsylvania.

Vice Chairman Karlin temporarily took the chair at 3:30 P. M.

The regular order of business was suspended in order that the Committee on Organization make its report on the work of the Y. P. S. L. Delegate Melnis, for the Organization Committee, submitted the following:

Report of the Organization Committee Y. P. S. L.

The committee believes with the management of the Young Peoples Socialist League, that all party members under 26 years of age should be compelled to join the Young Peoples League, with only the additional obligation of paying the local dues to the Y. P. S. L.

The committee also believes that a certain percentage of the \$40,000 fund should be given to the Y. P. S. L. For the purpose of discussion the committee suggests the amount should be ten percent.

A very lengthy discussion ensued on the first part of the Committee's recommendation, stated in Motion 6 of the Constitutional Amendments, in the Agenda.

The business of the Convention was suspended to read a message of greetings to the delegates of the Workmens Sick and Death Benefit Association, sitting in Convention in this city at this time, and the following four comrades were elected a committee to bear these greetings in person: Hoehn of Missouri, Thomassen of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Henry of Indiana, and Marie MacDonald of New York.

An amendment by Herman of Minnesota that in Motion 6 of Constitutional Amendments, the word "shall" shall be stricken out, and the words "be urged to" be inserted in its place, was carried.

On the question of giving 10% of the organization fund to be raised to the work of the Y. P. S. L., an amendment was offered by Gerber of New York, to insert the words "at least." This motion was carried.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Jewish Branch of the Socialist Party of Detroit, from Arthur Rubenstein, Detroit, Mich., and from the Jewish Daily Forward of Detroit, Mich.

Convention sent the following cablegram to the International Socialist Conference now meeting in Hamburg: "The Socialist Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Conference of the World Socialist Movement. May the much needed unity of our movement result from your meeting. Long live International Socialism."

The next order of business being the Agenda Motion

No. 2 on Conference for Progressive Political Action, delegate Lee of New York moved that Motion No. 2 be postponed. Motion carried.

Discussion then took place on the Agenda motion to accept invitation to the Farmer-Labor Party Conference. Delegate Lee offered the following substitute for the Agenda motion, which was carried: "That the Convention of the Socialist Party do not send delegates to the Farmer Labor Party Convention to be held in Chicago, July 3, and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a statement of our reasons therefor."

The following Committee of three was elected: Lee, Oneal, and Henry.

Delegate Henry of Indiana addressed the Convention on the subject of "Debs House", the building of which in Indianapolis is now being contemplated.

Comrade Sharts of Ohio submitted resolution of greetings to Eugene Debs which was adopted as published on page two of this issue.

Comrade Karlin of New York, for the Constitutional Committee reported the following: The Committee recommends:

That motion No. 1 of Constitutional Amendments be not concurred in. Recommendation carried.

That Motion No. 2 be so amended as to provide for the holding of National Conventions in even numbered years, except as changed by a 2/3 vote the National Executive Committee or by referendum vote of the Party. Carried.

That Motion 3 be concurred in. Carried.

That the Convention do not concur with Motion 4. An amendment that this section be laid on the table was carried.

A motion that the rules of order be suspended in order to give Delegate Livermore the floor was passed, and Livermore read the following resolution: Whereas, That part of A. Cahan's address, denouncing the Russia Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is not in accord with the Socialist Party of the United States, and

Whereas, The Socialist Party of the United States aims to unite all working class forces of the World for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth,

Be it resolved that this Convention go on record as repudiating that part of Comrade Cahan's address attacking "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic."

(Signed)

Edward A. Livermore
Mary Donovan

An amendment was offered by Comrade Mainland of New York, adding a section from the report of the Italian Federation to the National Convention, dealing with Communists in this country.

On motion of Delegate Hoan both the Resolution and the amendment were laid on the table.

Karlin, for the Constitutional Committee, recommended that Agenda Motion No. 5 be not concurred in. The Committee's recommendation carried.

Agenda Motion 7 was concurred in.

A motion was carried that the Constitution be so amended that all local and branch secretaries be requested to make monthly reports to their respective state and district secretaries, on forms provided for that purpose.

The meeting adjourned at 6 o'clock, to convene again Monday at 10 A. M.

MONDAY, MAY 21, 1923

Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 10:30 by

delegate King, Chairman of the previous day.

Lena Morrow Lewis of California and Emil Herman of Minnesota were nominated for Chairman for the day. Delegate Lewis was elected Chairman and delegate Herman was elected Vice Chairman.

A telegram of greetings was read from the Michigan Socialist Party.

The Labor Party of Mexico sent two fraternal delegates to the Convention, Salvador Alvarez and Roberto Haberman. These two fraternal delegates were seated amid great applause, and were immediately invited to address the Convention.

After a lengthy and highly interesting address by delegate Haberman, and a few words in Spanish by delegate Alvarez, which were translated by Comrade Haberman, delegate Lee of New York offered the resolution following, which was passed unanimously:

"Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party rejoices in the news of social progress brought by our visitors from Mexico; we ask Comrade Alvarez and Haberman to carry back our fraternal greetings to the organized workers of town and country in our sister republic, and we pledge our continued support in all efforts to promote close and mutually helpful relations between the Mexican and the American working class, and to combat every attempt of American capitalists to use the power of the United States Government to forward their schemes of exploitation."

King of California offered the following amendment to the Report of the Committee on Constitution: "Foreign Language Branches shall purchase dues stamps from the National Office of their Federation, whenever a Federation of Foreign Branches is in existence, and duly recognized by the National Office of the Party."

An additional amendment was offered by Warshow of New York, as follows: "No foreign speaking Branch shall be permitted to purchase stamps from any Local, unless such Branch shall have first applied, and received such permission from the National Executive Committee."

After a lengthy discussion the Convention voted to refer the whole matter for proper handling to the National Executive Committee.

Karlin of New York, for the Committee on Constitution, offered the following amendments, and moved their adoption:

That Article 5, Section 3, of the Party Constitution, be amended by striking out the second paragraph and inserting the following, in lieu thereof: "No state or local organization shall fuse, combine, or compromise, with the Democrat, Republican, or any other political party which supports capitalism, nor endorse candidates nominated by such parties;

That Article 8, Section 4, subdivision (a) be amended by striking out the words "the Republican and Democratic parties," and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "political parties supporting capitalism"; ;

That Article 8, Section 5, be amended by striking out the words: "Democratic or Republican Parties," and inserting: "Democratic, Republican, or other party supporting capitalism." Carried.

Delegate Harkins, for the Resolutions Committee, offered resolutions on Labor Education, The Fascisti, The Call, The Forward, and The Leader, and moved their adoption.

These resolutions with the exception of the one on the Fascisti, were adopted as published elsewhere in this issue.

A resolution on the Fascisti as published on page four of this issue, was offered by Delegate Valenti, and on motion of Delegate King, was adopted in place of the one recommended by the Committee.

MONDAY, May 21, 1923

Afternoon Session

Meeting called to order by Chairman Lewis at 2:30 P. M.

George Goebel was seated as delegate from New Jersey.

Delegate Harkins of New Jersey, for the Resolutions Committee, resumed the reading of resolutions:

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The National Convention of the Socialist Party rejoices at the prospect of a union of the Socialist Parties and trade unions of the world into one comprehensive International. The Convention records its conviction that experience and history, especially the experience of the past nine years, show that such an International must be based on acceptance of the principle of the class struggle.

The Convention therefore hopes that the deliberations now in progress in Hamburg between the two Internationals will result in their union into one organization. It hopes that this union will mark the beginning of a greater and more powerful International, an International that will witness the emancipation of the working class of all countries.

William M. Feigenbaum, alternate to the Convention, was seated.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Y. P. S. L.

Telegrams of greetings were read from the Y. P. S. L. and 6th A. D. Socialist Party New York.

Delegate Van Essen, for the Committee on Economic Organization read report, which was referred back to the Committee for redrafting.

Vice-Chairman Herman took the Chair at 3:40.

Delegate Melms for the Committee on Organization, Propaganda, and Finance, made the following recommendations, which were adopted by the Convention:

1. Regarding the proposition for Radio propaganda, submitted by the State Committee of New York, this Committee believes that this matter should be referred to the incoming National Executive Convention.

2. This Committee recommends to the Convention the need of a series of two page leaflets, that should be written by our best writers, and printed on good paper in clear, bold, and readable type, leaflets not cheaply gotten out, but something that will attract the eye, and hold attention. In the past one of the justifiable criticisms of our literature has been the poor quality of paper, and the smallness of the type used. No commercial house would dare use in an advertising campaign the poor and unattractive quality of stuff we have put out. An occasional leaflet containing a powerful cartoon should also be gotten out, as the cartoon will attract many to read a leaflet that would otherwise be thrown down.

Books and Pamphlets. Most of our literature is out of date, especially that of a specific propaganda nature, and new books should be published, dealing with the problems that have been brought to the front by world events of the past few years.

3. *Competitive Drive for New Members.* Resolved, That a special commission be appointed to conduct a nation wide competitive drive for new members on the following plan:

1. To encourage every State of the American Union

to strive for a banner, to be awarded to the State showing the largest percentage of gain in membership between now and the National Convention of 1924.

2. To encourage individual comrades to compete in the same period for

a—A gold medal to be awarded to the comrade securing the largest number of new members.

b—One of nine gold medals to the comrades next in the order of their accomplishments.

c—One of 15 silver medals to the comrades following in order of their accomplishments.

No gold medal to be awarded for a less number than 40 new members.

No silver medal to be awarded for a less number than 20 members

Honorable mention to be given in the Socialist World for those states and comrades following closely upon the winners.

4. That the incoming National Executive Committee consider the organizing of Women's Socialist Clubs or Branches and to expend upon such work as much of the organization funds as possible.

5. Believing that in place of the old method of merely holding street meetings, organizers should do more individual solicitation and intensive organizing work, the Committee recommends that the National Organizers hereafter sent out shall be assigned a district and that they shall concentrate their work, so far as may reasonably be done, in the industrial centers; and that they be supplied by the National Office with organizing literature, consisting of various follow-ups, including sustaining membership literature; and such organizers shall be required to make detailed daily reports showing houses visited, literature put out, persons solicited, etc.

There shall be appointed by the National Secretary, as soon as possible, a National Organizer, who shall direct this work.

Having in mind the fact that expenses can be greatly reduced by engaging the services of local residents when organization campaigns are in progress, your Committee further recommends that such a policy shall be followed wherever it offers practical results, and the National Director of Organization shall use his best efforts to secure competent local organizers.

Above recommendations approved and referred to the incoming National Executive Committee. Telegram of greeting was read to the Convention from the Vest Workers Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Peter Monat, Mgr., Max Greenberg, Secretary.

Telegram of greetings was read from the N. Y. Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, A. E. Kasen, Sec. Treas.

Telegrams of greetings were read from Joseph Schlossberg, Sec. Treas. of the A. C. W. of A., and from the National Board of the Workmens Circle.

At the close of the session, Delegate Oneal reported, amid great applause, that news had been received from Hamburg to the effect that the Vienna Union had decided to dissolve, and the formation of one big Socialist International was now certain.

The meeting adjourned at 6 o'clock, to meet again Tuesday morning, at 10 A. M.

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1923

Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock sharp, by delegate Lewis, chairman of the previous day.

Delegate Roewer, Jr., of Massachusetts was the only nominee for Chairman, and was elected by acclamation.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman: Graham of Montana (declined), Toole of Maryland (declined), Snow of Illinois (declined), Mrs. Henry of Indiana (accepted), Fitzgerald of New York (declined), Thobe of Kentucky (declined); Mrs. Henry, being the only nominee, was elected by acclamation.

King of California moved that at 11:30 the regular order of business shall be suspended, and the Convention proceed with the election of members of the National Executive Committee. Adopted.

Harkins, of New Jersey, for the Resolutions Committee, submitted Resolutions on suppression of Constitutional rights in W. Va. and the Negro Workers which were adopted by the Convention as published elsewhere in this issue.

King of California, for the Press Committee, offered the following motion, which was adopted by the Convention:

1. That the National Executive Committee be authorized to raise a Press Fund for the founding of a party weekly, selling at 50c a year. When this fund reaches this \$25,000, and not before, subscriptions for the paper shall be sold.

2. That the National Office endeavor to find means to strengthen its Press Service by the addition of Comrade Eugene V. Debs as a weekly contributor; that the several Socialist Party publications be organized to assist said service, and for mutual support.

On motion of Delegate Feigenbaum of New York, Herbert Merrill of New York was seated as delegate of the Convention.

Comrade Claessens, for the Committee on Resolutions, offered for adoption by the Convention, resolutions on The Coal Mining situation; Recognition of Mexico, Socialist Prisoners in Russia; Political Prisoners; Industrial Prisoners; Syndicalist Laws. These resolutions were adopted as published elsewhere in this issue.

ELECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following were nominated as members of the National Executive Committee: Eugene V. Debs, Melms of Wisconsin, Brandt of Missouri, Harkins of New Jersey, Snow of Illinois, Hillquit of New York, Birch Wilson of Pennsylvania, Victor Berger of Wisconsin, King of California (declined), Lewis of California, Maurer of Pennsylvania (declined), William M. Feigenbaum (declined), Karlin of New York (declined), Henry of Indiana (declined). The vote being taken, showed the following results:

Debs; 49; Melms 48; Brandt 44; Harkins 43; Snow 43; Hillquit 46; Birch Wilson of Pennsylvania 45; Victor Berger 2; Lewis 2; Scattered 3.

The following therefore were elected as members of the incoming National Executive Committee: Eugene V. Debs; Melms of Wisconsin; Hillquit of New York; Birch Wilson of Pennsylvania; Brandt of Missouri; Snow of Illinois; Harkins of New Jersey.

The following were nominated as alternates to the National Executive Committee: McLevy of Conn.; Mrs. Berger of Wisconsin; Van Essen of Penn.; Merrill of New York; Boyd of Mass; Roewer of Mass; Sharts of Ohio; Mrs. Bohlan of New Jersey; Mrs. Henry of Indiana; Mrs. Jokinen of Massachusetts; Toole of Maryland. The following seven being the only acceptances, the

secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for their election in the order named: McLevy of Conn.; Mrs. Berger of Wisconsin; Van Essen of Penn.; Merrill of New York; Sharts of Ohio; Mrs. Bohlan of New Jersey; Mrs. Jokinen of Mass.

Telegram of greetings was read from the Convention of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society.

A motion was offered by Mrs. Wilson of Penn., amended by Comrade Branstetter, and adopted as follows:

That the National Executive Committee be instructed to set aside 10% of the Organization Fund for Special propaganda work among women, and that they employ a competent woman comrade to take charge of this work at headquarters as soon as finances will permit.

On a roll call the Convention unanimously passed the following motion:

Resolved: That we do approve, ratify, and confirm all of the actions, proceedings and elections of the Joint Convention and Conference, and adopt the same as the actions of the National Convention of the Socialist Party.

Fraternal delegate Mahoney of the Farmer-Labor Party was given the floor to address the Convention.

Oneal of New York addressed the Convention, in which he dwelt upon the valuable work rendered to the Party by Otto Branstetter, National Secretary, and concluded, as a testimonial of the Party's appreciation, by presenting Comrade Branstetter with two volumes of Professor Commons' "History of the Labor Movement in the United States," autographed by the Convention delegates.

A motion of thanks was voted to the Assistant Secretary, the Finnish comrades, and Local New York, for the assistance rendered this Convention.

On motion of Delegate Karlin, the Convention passed the following:

To replace Section 14 of Article 12 of Constitution. Said fraternal delegates shall be elected at the regular National Convention of the Y. P. S. L., or by a referendum vote of the membership.

The Convention adjourned at 1:15.

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1923

Afternoon Session

Convention called to order by Chairman Roewer at 2:00 P. M.

Delegate Feigenbaum read the following cablegram from the International Socialist Convention now meeting at Hamburg: "Greetings to Debs and comrades assembled from the Congress which united millions of Socialists". Signed Hillquit, Berger, Panken, Berman.

Delegate Shiplacoff, for the Committee on Economic Organization read resolution on Economic Organization; Adopted as read.

Melms for the Committee on Organization offered resolutions, which were adopted by the Convention.

ORGANIZATION FUND

For the purpose of accumulating the forty thousand dollars (\$40,000) Organization Fund, and advancing the work of systematic organization and propaganda, a special card or certificate and special stamps to be placed thereon, shall be issued by the National Office. These special cards or certificates, and special stamps are to be issued to persons

in sympathy with our movement, to be known as honorary contributors. The dues of such honorary members shall be five dollars (\$5.00) for one year, payable in five special stamps of \$1.00 each. The special card and special stamp shall be issued by the National Office at the rate of 50c a stamp. All honorary contributors shall be entitled, when fully paid up, to one year's subscription to the "Socialist World."

A letter from Joseph Southle, of New York City, was received and referred to the National Executive Committee.

On recommendation of the Committee, Agenda Motion 4, was not concurred in by the Convention.

Delegate Nicholson of Massachusetts offered the following resolution, which was referred to the National Executive Committee.

SUSTAINING MEMBERS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Sustaining members of the organization, taking no part in the active work, and carrying no card of membership, may be admitted upon payment of annual dues of at least \$5.00, which may be collected annually or semi-annually, and the National Executive Committee shall issue official receipts in duplicate one to be given to the contributing member and the other to be returned, by the Local or State Secretary, properly filled in, to the National Office.

All dues collected on sustaining receipts shall be divided as follows: 25% to the National Office

25% to the State Office

50% to the Local Organization.

When county organization exists, the 50% shall be divided as follows: 25% to county organization in the District, and 25% to the Local.

Morris Hillquit of New York was elected International Secretary by unanimous vote.

The following telegram was sent:

May 22, 1923

Senor Obregon, President.

Mexico City, Mexico

The National Convention of the Socialist Party commends your stand in defense of the interests of the Mexican people. Stop. We heartily approve Section 27 of your splendid constitution and trust you will be able to maintain its provisions against all opposition of exploiting interests both foreign and domestic. Stop. In the conflict of interests between American capitalists and the Mexican people our sympathies are entirely with your fellow workers in their efforts to defend and enforce the provisions of the Mexican constitution.

Otto Branstetter, Secretary

After listening to addresses by delegates Goebel of New Jersey, Dr. Stephens of Indiana, and King of California, the Convention adjourned sine die, amid loud and prolonged cheers.

Otto Branstetter, Secretary

Per

Elizabeth Goldstein Ass't Secretary

The Socialist Party

Executive Secretary,
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Chicago

National Executive Committee:

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Morris Hillquit, 19 W. 44th St., New York City.
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OFFICIAL BUSINESS

To All Local Secretaries of the
Socialist Party

Dear Comrade:

In the June issue of The Socialist World are the minutes and resolutions of the National Convention held in New York City, May 19-22. Every party member, every local secretary, is invited—urged—to read carefully and thoughtfully.

It was a successful convention — or gives promise of being. Whether or not that promise is fulfilled depends upon how you read the plans outlined for the future. A convention cannot be a success in itself. It takes a live, determined membership, ready to support, eager to co-operate, capable of translating those proceedings into constructive action.

In every Socialist paper published during the past weeks, and in many non-socialist papers, you have read of the great throngs that have listened to Eugene V. Debs. He has spoken to thousands and thousands who were eager to hear him. They hung upon his words; they exulted in his message. And that message was—that message is—

"Socialism is the clarion call of the working class, the hope of humanity, the light of the world. We need, and want, and must have you—in the Socialist Party—*now!*"

That message will be carried from coast to coast by Comrade Debs before this year is ended. He is coming to Chicago on June 30th to attend a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The business before the Committee at that time will be the plans and instructions of the National Convention. They are all part of the one great purpose — a membership campaign to be begun without delay and to be continued until our organization has regained the strength it had before the war and persecution and dissension and

N. E. C.
MEETING
in Chicago
June 30th
to adopt
detailed plans
for carrying out
the instructions
of the
convention.
Get your
COMMITTEES
ORGANIZED
NOW

Report names to
National Office
before June 30th,
IF POSSIBLE.

There will be
work to do
And no time
to lose.

despair all but destroyed it.

To rebuild the Socialist Party is Eugene V. Debs' one great purpose in life. It is because of his faith in and adherence to the principles of the Socialist Party that he has given himself unceasingly to the workers of this nation for thirty years. It was because he was with the Socialist Party, in accord with the Socialist Party, when he cried out against the horror and insanity of war, that he was thrust behind prison bars.

But that voice could not be silenced. It is calling you to join, to enlist, in a new campaign of organization. He wants you to stand with him and by him while he says to the workers of America:—"We stand for you! This is your cause. You are one of the toiling millions. Listen! We are of your class and we have resolved to free ourselves from wage slavery. Are you with us?"

There is not a loyal member of the Socialist Party who can say NO, to that appeal. But we want you to say YES—and say it *now!* Don't wait until you hear from the National Office after the Executive Committee meeting on June 30th. Organize your forces in advance. Be ready to receive the detailed plans for the campaign—they will be sent as soon after the meeting as possible.

Call a meeting of your local if necessary. Do *just one thing*—select your committee for the Membership Campaign. Just one thing to do—but a vitally important thing. Upon it depends the success of the campaign.

Don't elect members on this committee who "will consent to serve." *Elect those who want to be on the committee!* Three, or five, as you think best. And then carefully select a Chairman. He must be more than willing—he (or she) must be full of zeal and enthusiasm—and faith! The Chairman may be your local secretary. He should *not* be if it means loading him down with more work than he can carry. That is for you to decide. *But it must be the best man or woman you can find for the place.*

Then—send us the names of your committeemen and especially of your Chairman. They will be listed in the order received. A credential with duplicate number will be sent the Chairman. It will bear the seal of the National Organization and the signature of the National Chairman, Eugene V. Debs. With the credential will be the detailed plan for the Membership Campaign. Will you be ready when the Campaign opens?

Trusting you will return the enclosed blank filled in with the names of your committee before June 30th, I am

Yours fraternally,

Otto Branstetter
Executive Secretary